

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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National Security Council Meeting

Tuesday, December 22, 1981

POLAND

I. To date, the U. S. Government has taken or is taking the following actions against Poland:

- A. Suspend consideration of Poland's request for \$740 million in agricultural assistance.
- B. Withheld the remainder of the undelivered amount of the \$71 million worth of dried milk and butter.
- C. Suspend renewal of EX-IM Bank's \$25 million line of export credit insurance for Poland.

At present we are planning to send a letter to General Jaruzelski.

II. The U. S. Government, for the present, will:

- A. Continue humanitarian food aid to Poland, provided we are guaranteed we can monitor distribution.
- B. Not make the "exceptional circumstance" clause.

III. The U. S. Government will consider the following steps either unilaterally or in concert with Allies:

- A. Establish "no exceptions" policy for COCOM.
- B. Suspend Polish civil aviation privileges in the U. S.
- C. Suspend or postpone IMF consideration of Poland's membership application.
- D. Withhold U. S. surplus fisheries allocations to Poland.
- E. Seek a Papal visit to Warsaw.

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State Derivative

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Thus far we have taken no concrete steps against the Soviet Union. Our diplomatic representations have been from Under Secretary Stoessel to Bessmertnykh. In addition, Ambassador Nitze put the Soviets on notice that Polish developments could affect future INF talks. We are planning a letter from the President to Brezhnev.

I. Possible Unilateral Actions.

- A. Call for an emergency U. N. Security Council meeting, and, if appropriate, a meeting of the General Assembly to condemn Soviet or Soviet-sponsored repression in Poland.
- B. Play the China Card: (1) High-visibility consultations with the Chinese; (2) Sell high-technology weapons systems to Beijing.
- C. Seek to isolate the USSR economically: (1) Impose total trade embargo; (2) Expel all Soviet commercial representatives; (3) Ban Soviet fishing in U. S. waters; (4) Discourage tourist travel to the USSR; (5) Suspend Aeroflot service and Soviet maritime access to U. S. ports; (6) Suspend negotiations on economic matters; (7) Pressure U. S. banks to curtail credits.
- D. Seek to isolate USSR politically: (1) sharply reduce diplomatic levels; (2) Seek condemnation of USSR in international organizations; (3) Cancel all remaining cultural, scientific and academic exchanges; (4) Escalate radio broadcasting; (5) Request Ambassador Dobrynin's recall, withdraw Ambassador Hartman.
- E. Propose a large-scale international assistance program for Poland.

II. Special Cases:

- A. Postpone or cancel January 26-28 Haig/Gromyko meetings.
- B. Request early Haig/Gromyko meeting to discuss Poland.
- C. Postpone INF negotiations.
- D. Announce U. S. refusal to set a date for the beginning of START negotiations.
- E. Abrogate Helsinki Final Act.
- F. Pull out of MBFR negotiations.

III. Possible Actions in Concert with Allies:

- A. Suspend fulfillment of existing contracts.
- B. Call for emergency CSCE meeting in Poland.
- C. Measures parallel to U. S. steps to isolate Soviets.

IV. Military Actions are under further review.

DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

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